

Contents

<i>List of Journals, Newspapers, Translation Services, and Abbreviations</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
1 Introduction	1
Locating the Chinese State	1
The Central and Local States	7
Rural Society and Peasant Collective Action	13
Overview of the Chapters	17
2 Peasants and Taxation in Historical Perspective	20
Rural Taxation in Imperial China	20
Rural Taxation in the Late Qing and Republican Periods	25
Taxes and the Communist Revolution	31
The Maoist Era: The Primacy of Grain Procurements	36
Conclusion	46
3 Extracting Funds from the Peasants	48
Burdens: An Overview	50
The TVE Factor	68
Grievances: Lack of Accountability and Brutality of Enforcement	73
4 Institutional Sources of Informal Tax Burdens	84
Deconcentration of State Power	84
The Local State: Developmental Pressures and Incentives	88
State Sprawl: China’s Expanding Bureaucracy	96
Muddled Finances and the Rural Funding Crisis	105

Contents

Embedded Corruption	109
Conclusion	114
5 Burdens and Resistance: Peasant Collective Action	116
Individual and Collective Protest and Violence	120
Peasant Collective Resistance: Incipient Social Movements?	137
Leaders, Organization, and Coordination	146
Potential Allies	157
Conclusion	165
6 Containing Burdens: Change and Persistence	166
Exhortations, Regulations, and Campaigns	167
“Letters and Visits” and the Role of the Media	177
Enabling Villagers to Seek Legal Redress	190
Toward Effective Institutional Change	197
Conclusion	204
7 Burden Reduction: Village Democratization and Farmer	
National Interest Representation	206
The Impact of Village Democratization on Burdens	207
Strengthening Farmer Interest Representation at the Center	224
A National Farmers’ Association?	231
Conclusion	239
8 Conclusions	241
<i>Bibliography</i>	253
<i>Index</i>	271